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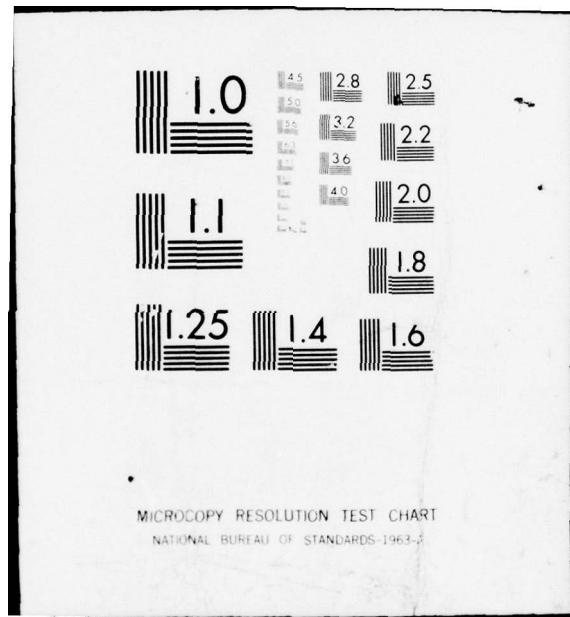
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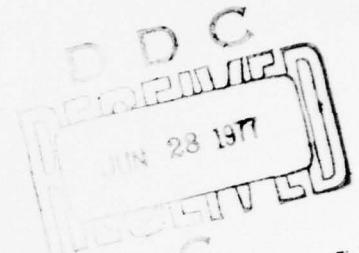
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Final Report
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"Group Dynamics in Minority Groups in
Inner City Environments"



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report will include plans for dissemination of the findings, a bibliography of pertinent source material and an appendix of instruments used in the investigation.

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INTRODUCTION

A review of literature indicated that there was practically nothing known of the quantitative interactions of Blacks in group settings. Further, there had been little effort to quantify Black-White interactions. Finally, nearly all the work done in social group theory had been from the viewpoint of Whites. Hence there seemed to be a need to understand group psychodynamics, especially in mixed racial situations, from a comprehensive theory from a Black vantage point.

Such a theory holds that there can never be a Black in a White group. Given the realities of American life, any Black in a group with Whites is in a group which must be described as "a Black in a group with Whites." Similarly no White has been in a Black group. He/she is a member of a group most accurately described as "a White in a group with Blacks." In the United States the presence of colored and white people constitutes obligatory social interactions. These interactions are uniform, but usually never acknowledged. They work with a mathematical precision to the detriment of the colored members' time, space, energy and freedom of mobility.

This report will indicate the theory of racism upon which interracial dynamics were studied in terms of a

quantitative content analysis. There then will be a consideration of problems in soliciting subjects and a description of methodology used to test the theoretical assumptions. The report will include plans for dissemination of the findings, a bibliography of pertinent source material and an appendix of instruments used in the investigation.

I. THEORETICAL STATEMENT

Blacks are an urban, segregated people. The inner city in which they dwell is fraught with increasingly complicated life situations. They are burdened by poor health, increased crime, economic ills and the strife born of despair. Since the plight of Blacks serves as a barometer of the plight of other colored minorities (and perhaps of all poor people) alleviation of their difficulties could have broad and sweeping positive effects for the total society. The general society is diminished and devitalized by not utilizing in an effective way a large segment of the population. In the past both White and Black investigators have been limited by the fact that there is not a comprehensive theory of racism, developed and researched by Blacks, which could be submitted to quantitative analysis. To develop such a theory would require a dispassionate review and synthesis of subjective Black experience combined with a deep knowledge of White psychology and culture. Those few Blacks who have had such information and access to granting agencies have not been inclined to engage a comprehensive theory or to utilize statistical methods. Likewise, White researchers in this domain have worked without benefit of a guiding theory or insight gained from direct life experience.

Accordingly this investigation suggests a way to provide researchers and potential researchers with a comprehensive

theory developed and researched by Blacks, which can be converted easily to quantitative studies. The issues selected to be studied focus on using psychological insights into problems of a public nature which are especially germane to the interrelationship of education, the media and government. The products from the investigation are designed to have immediate and extensive applicability to the lives of tens of thousands of people.

The presentation of an in depth theory of racism may serve as a stimulus for many other specific inquiries by many researchers in the future. The theory developed by the author views racism from the vantage point of individual interactions and from the vantage point of group consequences. Some of the theoretical postulates have been published. Many were developed from first-hand experience in the study of extreme environments. Prior to constructing the preliminary research, which will be mentioned, the author taught courses about the theory at Harvard University.

Briefly, it is held that Blacks and Whites adopt pro-racist attitudes and behavior which insist that Blacks are inferior by virtue of skin color. The Black is trained to accept a defeated, demoralized, passive position mostly by means of the incessant delivery of subtle offenses committed against him. These cumulative "microaggressions" become the fabric of almost any interaction between Blacks and Whites, no matter what the social circumstance. It is submitted that

the acceptance of these offenses by Blacks is the major means of training them, i.e., of transmitting the society's wishes for them. Hence, Blacks are obliged to be passive, defensive and never other than in an inferior and deferential posture. All of the mass media as well as many school practices reinforce these positions to all citizens with the result that Whites and Blacks continue to think it unremarkable that Blacks can and should be on the defensive at all times. We believe that these offenses to Blacks can be catalogued and counted. Once people become hyperaware of how gratuitous and unnecessary many of these offenses are, then there is the possibility for corrective and informed option-taking which would eliminate racist practices.

Racism is considered as a disease and must be treated as such. It is a public health, mental health, perceptual, contagious, nutritional and lethal disease. The ubiquity of this disease defines its dimensions as a social problem.

The basic condition for racism is the belief that someone is inferior by virtue of skin color. From this assumption Whites take liberties and condone ideas and actions that they do not permit in White-White interactions. Racism is a mental set. When the set persists in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary (that is, that skin color is not an automatic mark of inferiority) the idea becomes delusional by definition. Hence racism becomes a mental illness and quite properly enters the province of psychiatrists and psychologists.

This mental illness afflicts virtually everyone in the U.S. Whites proclaim superiority and act superior. Blacks accept inferiority and act inferior. Any illness affecting virtually a whole population is by definition a public-health illness. It follows that, as a public-health illness, it cannot be treated effectively on a one-to-one basis. Preventive methods on a massive scale are required to render effective care. In addition, as a public health illness it is likely to leave grievous and protracted sequelae in its wake. Just as residuals of a smallpox epidemic can be seen lingering in a community in the form of neurological or cardiovascular complications decades after the epidemic has disappeared, so racism complicates social tranquility for generations. Resources must be committed over a long period of time to prevent recurrence of the disease and to eradicate all trace of previous contamination.

All Blacks can cite experiences to verify that racism is a contagious illness. In many instances racism, like typhoid fever, lies dormant in a given societal context. It only needs the demagoguery of one or a few rabid, overt racists to galvanize this situation for many people to become openly active in their racist behavior. For example, a Black can be unconcernedly in an eating place when the arrival of one outspoken racist turns the entire dining room into such a den of hatred that the Black must remove himself from the threatening, noxious stimuli.

Living always on the brink of this sort of personal catastrophe and knowing quite literally that a sudden unpredictable and uncontrollable turn of events may be fatal, makes Blacks perceive situations differently than Whites. This difference in focus is synergized by the reinforcement of life's experience and the knowledge of the historical past. Therefore, when a White congratulates himself in front of a Black about what good "progress" has been made he is probably perceiving a quite different actuality. It is not remarkable then that perceptual clash is at the base of much of the perpetuation of racism, when Blacks and Whites view what is acceptable and tolerable from diametrically opposed perspectives.

Superiority needs in Whites operate in such a fashion that Blacks are never fed enough success. As a result their capacities are impaired in the sense of a deficiency disease. Since nutritive diseases originate from excessive output as well as inadequate intake, the disease of racism has a contributory etiology of withdrawing too much hope from the hapless Black. Thus he is doubly afflicted by not having sufficient success and by having too much hope removed. The resultant cachexia describes helplessness and hopelessness, the friends to fear and anxiety and the parents of depression.

Shabby, casual, indifferent, careless unconcern by the total community results in conditions which kill Blacks. Extreme examples such as rats killing babies and newborns addicted to heroin come to mind easily. But there are less

obvious and more frequent incidents which also kill. For instance, the White who labors three hours per day in heavy traffic to escape the inner city is shortening his life and inviting death by accident or bodily wear and tear. He is paying the lethal penalty of racism no less than the Black whose blood pressure mounts every day as he has to decide why the bus driver always stops in front of a White passenger instead of him no matter how far from the bus-stop the White waits. Thus, racism is a disease which literally kills both Blacks and Whites and can cause extreme physical as well as psychological suffering.

To allow options and feelings of some control over destiny, this lethal, contagious, institutional, perceptual, mental and public health illness--racism--must be eliminated. To do so demands new conceptualizations by both Blacks and Whites and these require a new vocabulary. Among the concepts to be embraced by this new vocabulary are: offensive mechanism, pro-racism, levity control, publicity abuse, love of chaos, adventure-need, selective followership, facilitated hyperawareness, performance immobility, re-inducate, selective socialization, destiny control, sexually underprivileged, inferiority verification, unexpected actions, anticipated reality, contributory racism, selective silence, elective confrontation, burdens of opportunity, discrimination-expectancy threshold, lifespace value, micro-efforts, mini-disasters, passive kinetic racism, active

kinetic racism, mini-assaults, social critical pathway, counterviolence, psychosocial privilege, fractionation of effort, information fractionalization, psycho-dilution, time abuse, psycho-collaboration, creative altruism, ease of selection, media literacy, wasted thinking, helper confusion, effort fragmentation, childism, time elasticity, space invasion, social trace contaminants, surveillance variability, masochistic depression, negative deference, mini-crisis, micro-aggressions, sociological dysrhythmia, altruistic depression, prosaic violence, goal-reducing technique, mundane stress, macroproblems, and microproblems.

The operation of these concepts can be seen in everyday transactions between Blacks and Whites and can be recognized even more easily in the media--T.V., radio, movies, billboards, newspapers, periodicals, even statuary. For this reason we believe that media literacy--the ability to read correctly the message of the media and to understand its cumulative impact--is absolutely crucial to handling inner-city problems.

The theory puts much emphasis on the fact that society trains both Blacks and Whites that darker people can and should be degraded, demeaned, dehumanized. Reinforcement of these beliefs, attitudes and behaviors come from never ending personal and impersonal sources. Racism, then, is the attitude of unthinking, automatic superiority of any White over any Black. This results in the White's needs, desires, hopes

and fears taking unquestioned precedence over those of the Black. In a racist society there are a plethora of formal and informal networks derived from the authority of custom and power which demand and insist that any Black or any Black's needs are subservient and of less importance than those of any White or aggregate of Whites. Blacks are not taken seriously or regarded with dignity. As a result both Blacks and Whites take pro-racist attitudes. That is, in all interactions and intrapsychic negotiations it is assumed, expected and accepted as unremarkable that the White's wishes, omnipotence and omniscience should remain unchallenged. The Black's thoughts, beliefs, and activities can be legitimized only by certification of Whites.

The three essential dynamics for the continuation of racism are offensive mechanisms, micro-aggressions and kinetic messages. The Black is never permitted to initiate or control or plan. He is expected to accommodate, respond, reply, defend and react to the direction of Whites. This direction comes in a barrage of assaults whose cumulative weight can reduce the Black to hopelessness and helplessness. He is expected to conform and perform to the tastes of Whites. Most racism is not gross and obvious but subtle and penetrating. Most racist behaviors, suffered by Everyblackman are kinetic--the disdaining way change is returned to a Black, the certainty the bus driver will not stop in front of a Black, the smile that comes across the faces of Whites

during a play in which a Black batters his wife.

There are stated and actual objectives of racism. Some are overt, many are covert. In essence, however, the operational characteristics of racism make Blacks know and believe that Whites are arbitrary, whimsical, illogical, discriminatory and usually arrogant, unconcerned and selfish. The behavior and commitment of Whites is to make the Black conform and to feel appreciative of being guided, instructed and supervised. This promotes hopelessness. The Black is made to feel dependent and deferential. This promotes feelings and ideation of demoralization, degradation, defeat and derogation. Next the Black is made to be aware always of what can't be done; especially he must know what can't be done without White permission and guidance. This promotes helplessness, inferiority and despair. Blacks also are given credit when they mimic Whites. And of course Blacks must accept what Whites offer without recourse. This promotes a belief in the idiosyncratic application of justice.

If Blacks resist these operational objectives of racism there is resort to power. Blacks know that resistance will call forth the use of strength and coercion. In all interactions the Black will be dealt with as if he is a non-thinking, all-physical creature who never has original ideas. His purpose is to be amusing, entertaining and gratifying. He is not to be taken seriously.

Since both Blacks and Whites accept these tenets, White-Black interactions tend to be characterized by certain

virtually inherent qualities. The first of these qualities is gratuitousness. In almost all racial interactions things are done and permitted which are excessive and unnecessary. The Black often seems to go out of his way to argue with another Black in front of a White. The White never seems to let up on reminding the Black of his lower position. For instance, given a choice of cutting in front of a Black or a White in a movie queue, exiting White customers will cut in front of a Black with overwhelming statistical predictability (13 times more than by chance).

Next there is the inevitable need for Whites to congratulate themselves in front of Blacks. Blacks cooperate gratuitously in this maneuver so that often excessive and unnecessary verbalization of White supremacy is visited upon Blacks. The reason for this behavior has many roots, not the least of which is Black acceptance of the need for White approval.

Third is the tendency for Whites to deny that Blacks could have any significant problem or any substantial grievance. If the negotiation goes beyond this point, the Black's input is then minimized or diluted. With continued but grudging interaction the Black is then told, at first implicitly, later explicitly, that he is sick, that he doesn't understand and finally that to persist will oblige the regrettable use of power.

All of these phenomena can be seen by any observer who notes carefully what happens in actual Black-White interactions

or in their depiction in the media. If people were to become more aware of the frequency and relentlessness of these events in their daily lives, they might elect to modify participating in another's or their own degradation. The fact, however, that there is volitional complicity in all the interactions discussed allows the diagnosis of racism to be made with clarity.

In the diagnosis of racism the following are hallmarks:

- (1) The Black must be grateful for all that is done for him.
- (2) The Black must see how good things are for him and particularly he must appreciate how good his condition is compared to what it might be (or was).
- (3) The Black must accept having his goal defined by a White, preferably indicating his acceptance with good cheer and gratitude.
- (4) The Black must accept relative confinement and/or relative immobility, i.e., his time, space, and energy must serve to transfer life to the white while abbreviating his own.
- (5) The Black is never to ally himself with any group, especially of other Blacks, who threaten the hegemony of Whites.
- (6) The Black must have his inferiority frequently underscored.

These diagnostic criteria can be elaborated into forms

which can be reliably counted. For example, the inferior role of Blacks can be predicted and scored in T.V. commercials in which Blacks seldom initiate or terminate interchanges with Whites. Scoring systems of this sort permit computerization and comparison of episodes over time, in different places and across various vehicles (media, legislative halls, schools, etc.). Such analyses have the scientific advantage of being able to be checked easily for reliability and replicability.

Once the diagnosis of racism is apparent one can theorize concerning its more basic mechanisms, just as one can attempt to understand pulmonary pathophysiology once the diagnosis of pneumonia is made. When the basic science is better understood, fundamental steps can be used to correct the problem and increasingly precise studies can be completed which permit more exact application of knowledge.

From this viewpoint the basic question in race relations in the U.S. is how does it come about that both Blacks and Whites expect and accept as unremarkable that:

- (1) The Black's time, space, energy and mobility can be abused at will by Whites.
- (2) Blacks remain in a posture of enforced dependency.
- (3) Blacks remain under surveillance variability, i.e., they are subject to either excessive scrutiny or to being completely ignored.

In a more detailed presentation of the theory the investigator will demonstrate the psychological, sociological

and physiological consequences of these basic phenomena. In this way many research avenues will be opened up. In presenting these possibilities much attention will be given to immediate, intermediate and long range effects of racism on the bio-social functioning of Black populations and therefore the effect on the society at large. The range of these effects, which are mediated by ongoing, constant psychosocial (and perhaps psychophysiological) mobilization against terror, tyranny and depreciation, penetrates every corner of existence of Black life. It is theorized therefore that individual thinking, group dynamics, and childrearing, for example, must be studied from the perspective of a comprehensive theory of racism. This sort of study is a necessary first step before theorists can go on to consider how racism affects aggregates of Blacks.

The inner city as an extreme environment

There is an abundance of data which can be used to form an analog model for understanding the effects of the inner city as an environment for Blacks. The data referred to come from studies of extreme environments. These environments include life on deserts, in polar areas, under the sea, in caves, in space, etc. It is postulated that there are two types of extreme environments. The one usually studied is the exotic, stressful environment, exemplified by the sea laboratory. The other is the mundane, stressful environment. An inner city is a mundane stressful environment and it is

probably a more extreme environment for man to adapt to than the South Pole. It is mundane in the sense that many people experience it in contrast to the exotic environment which few even witness.

The mundane stressful situation differs from the exotic in many essential regards, which may make it physiologically as well as psychologically a much more harrowing experience. It is non-glamorous and there are no rewards for being in it. Risk and violence are commonplace. Subjectively, and perhaps even objectively, its inhabitants are more apt to come to a dangerous end than the occupants of exotic extreme environments. Participants in the mundane environment are not selected or trained for harmonious and efficient working together. Nor is there a clear cut mission whose accomplishment will bring high personal satisfaction, fame or wealth. Thus, there are major differences in motivational factors governing individual effort and group relationships.

But, the chief difference between inhabitants in mundane and exotic stressful environments is the length of time they stay in the situation. The exotic environment is time-limited and the subject realizes that he has almost a 100% chance of getting out of it. In contrast, an inhabitant of the mundane environment recognizes he has virtually 100% certainty of remaining in that environment. In addition he is not there by choice. And he knows that the "outside world" has so little concern about him that rather than mobilizing extraordinary

efforts to rescue him, things are done to make sure that he remain under mundane stress and suffer continual prosaic violence.

Most extreme environments are characterized by forced socialization, spatial isolation, density clustering, abundance of free time, noise-silence extremes, loneliness, fears of abandonment, anxiety, panic, fears of not being able to get out and depression.

When the theory is detailed, hypotheses will be presented to account for a wide range of behavioral and thinking differences which result from life in the mundane stressful environment. For instance, life in an overcrowded tenement may result in general biological dysrhythmia and specific changes in sleep physiology. These effects may be chronic and cumulative. As a result the individual may have sub-clinical but significant shifts in sustained concentration, emotionality, suggestibility, memory, judgement and abstraction ability. This hypothesis is suggested by the finding that men at the South Pole lose their stage IV sleep during the first three months of their stay there. When they return to temperate zones stage IV sleep remains absent for a period of at least a year's duration. Behaviorally, the men function and perform adequately, but friends and relatives not infrequently note marked changes in them, some of which are highly disturbing.

There are other parallels to consider in comparing the

two environments. For example, time, the basic element of all problem-solving, may be handled differently in the inner city for a host of understandable biological, psychological and sociological reasons suggested by the study of other extreme environments. Similarly we can apply the findings of the latter body of research to understand why the extreme environment of the inner city makes it relatively impossible for Blacks to move toward the goal of becoming super-generalists and supra-nationalists. And, at a much more practical level, we can apply the findings of this research to understand how the rearing of children in large group settings can become an excessively stressful environment for young Black children whose adaptive capacities are already strained by living in the extreme environment of the ghetto.

In summary, the theory of racism based on individual interactions and groups living in a mundane stressful environment will be used to develop a better understanding of research needs related to major national problems. The research to demonstrate the utilization of the theory will involve the production of audiovisual material. The hoped for result will be for masses of people to be made hyperaware of certain remediable interpersonal dynamics, which intensify and perpetuate racial ills. Being aware of these interactions, people can exert more positive options because they will think differently about themselves and view problems in different focus.

Since all people in the U.S. suffer from the ravages of racism this research involves the total society. However, the work should have special usefulness to students in social and biological sciences who wish to do innovative work in the inner city. It should be particularly meaningful to groups that are concerned about the influence of the mass media. We hope too that T.V. and other mass media executives will find the information persuasive in their policy making and that it may help creative artists and producers to become more sensitive to their role in perpetuating racism. The project should also prove helpful to citizens, students and professional groups who are concerned about the proper stress. Clinicians interested in psychotherapy should find the research of importance in the care of minority populations.

A basic problem in the amelioration of racial conflicts is the inability of Whites or Blacks to understand the dynamics of Black groups. Black groups in therapy or in natural settings are much understudied. In terms of the theory we present we postulate that an increased understanding of Black group dynamics must be based on a thorough documentation and description of how Black, White and mixed groups differ in their behavior and actions. The selected research project will serve as a paradigm for using a theory to approach and conduct research. The finished products (videotapes of groups studied in terms of quantitative content analysis) should help all viewers become more aware of how

racism operates and how it modifies group process.

Specifically, the finished products should be of particular value to community workers, equal opportunity officers, media producers and performers, Afro-American studies classes, behavioral scientists, psychotherapists, education theorists, social workers, teachers, health service workers, military and industrial administrators and urban experts. Such a study should prove of crucial importance in improving the lot of inner city residents. Awareness of group dynamics and possible options should lead to better ability to cooperate, collaborate and produce an increased effectiveness, efficiency and satisfaction in living in the cities. The theoretical model provides a novel way of interpreting group dynamics by considering the effects of chronic, sustained mundane stress.

For these reasons, audiovisual presentations based on quantitative data should be of service to pre-school educators, child development specialists, pediatricians, teachers, psychotherapists, parents and potential parents, and military and industrial executives. It is our expectation that the studies will indicate subtle and obvious ways to increase or decrease a person's cognitive and conative development. Finally, although the target subjects are minority people, the generalizations about life in an extreme mundane stressful environment might apply to many other life circumstances for both inner city and majority citizens.

The theoretical concerns are important in understanding Black, White, and Black-White group dynamisms. Race is the overwhelming feature of life for any Black in the United States, whether he operates in an individual or group setting or whether the group setting is heteroracial or homoracial. As such, once group process is studied and better understood, an investigator would have leads to important areas such as thinking (for group dynamic study will suggest how people perceive and learn), cooperation (for group study will demonstrate features which augment or diminish cohesiveness and tenacity to a task), and childrearing (for group study will indicate, perhaps indirectly, much about parenting, helping, courtship, male-female relations).

In the specific study undertaken here much focus was given to non-verbal behavior. This is because it was theorized that in America most racism is non-verbal. The first two papers to be presented for consideration for publication will be on the theory of non-verbal racism and the quantitative findings from this experiment based on that theory.

II. SOLICITING SUBJECTS

The third paper which will be presented for consideration for publication will be a paper dealing with problems in soliciting subjects. This paper came about because of observations early on in this study which indicated that the problems of subject selection had an enormous impact on the outcome of findings.

It turned out to be not too easy to find subjects to place in groups who would be: 1) strangers to each other, 2) between 18-20, 3) from low income families, and 4) without benefit of college experience. It was realized that the subtleties of obtaining subjects had an impact on outcome. Further the process could be studied so that variables could be isolated and manipulated so that the selecting of subjects could be better controlled. The importance of seeking such control has far reaching implications in terms of scientific reliability and validity of investigations as well as ethical and legal considerations in human experimentation and confidentiality. The application of such findings could have much to do with understanding cooperation, a basic concern in any group endeavor.

It was found that subject and experimentor acted on each other in terms of such variables as age, sex, race, geography (of site of experiment, of site of request for cooperation), time of year, availability of transportation,

role and motivation of intermediaries (such as a community agency), subject motivation money, anticipated comfort of the subject, clarity of presentations, number and affiliative membership of people present when solicitation was made, magnitude of the task and so on.

The paper will present a grid of possibilities that could be studied systematically in asking broad questions about compliers and non-compliers.

III. METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in this study will permit a number of papers and presentations to be made. Already it has been used to furnish the basis for a doctoral dissertation which has been completed. Roughly, groups were videotaped as they responded to the question of how would they spend \$50 in a legal manner, not on themselves. The tapes were transcribed for verbal analysis. And the tapes were studied also for other verbal and non-verbal content, chiefly from a composite tape which contained a segment of each of the tapes. Analyses were made after judges had interjudged reliability. Their results were computerized using techniques of contingency relations.

There were a total of 21 groups of four people each. Of the 21 groups studied there were 3 each of the following categories:*

1. All Black males
2. All White males
3. All Black females
4. All White females
5. 2 Black males, 2 White males

*In view of the preliminary nature of this study it was elected not to have groups consisting of Black males-White females or White males-Black females, although these groups have especial social significance to American inter-racial relations.

6. 2 Black females, 2 White females
7. 1 Black male, 1 Black female, 1 White male,
1 White female

All participants had been solicited by a member of their own race and sex. The informed consent they signed indicated that should they wish they could review the tape session they were in and if unhappy for any reason, the entire tape would be destroyed. The participants were told, when solicited, that they would be paid ten dollars for a half hour taping plus one dollar for round trip transportation by common carrier.

Prior to the taping the group assembled and was served coffee and cookies for a few minutes to reduce some of their strangeness to each other. In the homoracial, same sexed groups the experimenter was the person who had contacted them. In the same sexed groups the experimenter was of the same sex.

The experimenter served as cameraperson and read brief instructions two times, then remained present but mute, while the group decided how it would dispose of a 50 dollar bill they in fact had been shown. The group was told that the money would be used however they stated as long as it was legal and did not go to themselves.

On the basis of a comprehensive theory of racism it was elected to count how each person in the study talked, i.e., what verbal references and in what number did he make

them. Also it was decided on the same basis to see how each individual covered (or exposed) certain body parts in the group setting.

Among the categories of data collected are: individual word count, number of suggestions (of what to do with the money), the degree of specificity of that suggestion, e.g., a very specific suggestion would be, "Give it to the Little Home for the Wanderers to take the kids to the ball game on Tuesday night," average specificity, number of times a person repeated a prior suggestion, references to food, references to starvation, references to death, references to dirtiness, references to children, references to clothing, references to nudity, references to mother, number of times one was "talked over" (talked while some one else was talking), number of times one "talked over" others, times one asked a question and received no answer, references to non-humans, reference to specific racial identities, total references to race, covering of upper chest, covering of genitals, covering multiple parts of the body and speed of decision making.

All data reduction has been completed. The appendix gives some samples of instructions to coders. The specific theory tested by each item and the computerized score will be presented in separate papers. In addition in the composite tape (with three minutes of material taken from the mid-point of the group's whole session and one minute

on either side of that mid-point) is available. The qualitative differences of the groups is striking.

Results

The statistically significant results of the study include:

- a) All Blacks in homoracial groups versus All Blacks in heteroracial groups

In the homoracial groups there is more talk of food

- b) All Black groups versus All White groups

Blacks talk about Blacks

Whites don't talk about Blacks

- c) All individuals in homoracial groups versus all individuals in heteroracial groups

Everyone talks less in mixed groups

There are less suggestions in mixed groups

There is less talk of cleanliness, death in mixed groups

- d) All Black females versus All White females

White females refer to Indians

- e) White females in homoracial groups versus White females in heteroracial groups

In homoracial groups White females:

talk about cleanliness

talk about athletics

ask for information

talk about Indians

In heteroracial groups White females:

 expose their chests

f) All black males versus All White males

 Black males make reference to mother and race

g) All males versus all females

 Females talk about cleanliness

 Females cover genitals

h) Black females in homoracial groups versus Black
 females in heteroracial groups

 In mixed groups:

 Black females are talked over

In homoracial groups:

 Black female is more likely to give
 suggestions

 Black female talks about food

i) White males in homoracial groups versus White males
 in heteroracial groups

 In homoracial groups:

 White males have very high specificity

 In mixed groups:

 White males cover their genitals

j) Black males in heteroracial groups versus Black
 males in homoracial groups

 In homoracial groups:

 Black males give more suggestions

 talk more about drugs

 talk more about clothing

talk more about race

talk more about mother

talk more about family

When these findings are described in greater detail and disseminated the theoretical implications as well as possible applications will be presented. In fine they reveal that groups do differ depending on racial composition. Further the data reveals that no group gives a superior quality of idea in this study. Yet some groups reach a conclusion much quicker than others (by a factor of 10). This may have meaning in terms of the speed of thinking, the use of options or the certainty of conclusions. This too will be presented when the data are given in journals or at scientific meetings. In essence Blacks, for reasons pointed out in the paper on The Theory of Black-White Non-Verbal Communication, may think faster and more, because of socio-cultural pressures.

Other factors which will be discussed are the limitations of the study. For instance a panel of judges working in the project, thus very familiar with all the tapes, often cannot easily arrive at conclusions as to who is the leader in the group, which group was most at ease, which liked each other the most. Other and numerous limitations would have to be considered to put these findings into context, such as how the results would differ once people knew each other or if the experiment lasted longer.

IV. DISSEMINATION PLANS

The material and method of this study has formulated the basis for a Ph.D. dissertation by Wesley Profit at Harvard University. The dissertation is entitled "Blacks in Homogeneous and Heterogeneous Racial Groups: The Effects of Racism and the Mundane Extreme Environment".

As papers are prepared they will be submitted for consideration for publication in leading medical, psychology and psychiatric journals. In addition presentations with and without the composite tape will be made at scientific meetings.

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APPENDIX

Mechanical Elements

#1. Responses to Experimenter's Directions?

Count all questions or comments made in response to the experimenter's directions to the group. Indicate C or Q for comment or question and list the speaker. For example:
#4 Q: 3 indicates Speaker 4 questioned 3 times.

#2. Who talks first?

Simply note the first member of the group to speak after the experimenter says: "From this point on I can't say anything more." Note the place.

For example: #4 1. 20 indicates Speaker 4, line 20.

#3. Was decision reached?

Yes, only if the experimenter has been notified by the group to end the tape or when the group firmly establishes, irrevocably the decision and goes on talking of other things.

#4. What was the final decision, if any?

Simply indicate the cause, place, location of the beneficiary and note whether specificity was only achieved by experimenter's request.

#5. Any final dissenters?

Simply note anyone who verbally expresses discontent over the groups' final decision. Indicate speaker and line.

#6. How did the tape end?

Note whether the tape ran itself out (ran-out) or whether the experimenter was called upon to stop it (Self-ended).

#7. Spokesman for the group?

Indicate who, if anyone, told the experimenter that the group had reached their final decision. Note speaker and Line.

#8. Who talked last?

Simply indicate last person to speak before the tape runs out, not including the experimenter.

#9. Total time references?

This is a complete count of references to the "experimental time," listing any mention of time left, time which has passed, not enough time, etc.

Talkovers

All talkovers will be coded. Any time two persons are talking simultaneously for more than one word, this will constitute a talkover. It should be noted whether it is concurrent, that is initiated at the same point in time by both speakers or whether it is one speaker over another. A final tally will be drawn up for each tape indicating talkovers, such as:

1	2	__	2	1	__	3	1	__	4	1	__
1	3	__	2	3	__	3	2	__	4	2	__
1	4	__	2	4	__	3	4	__	4	3	__

and any concurrent talkovers _____.

Totals will then be taken to indicate for each speaker, how many times they were talked over by others and how many times they talked over others. (In the case of concurrent talkovers, such as 1 2; Both speakers 1 and 2 would be credited with a talkover.)

Finally, a total will be made of the group as a whole, indicating total talkovers for Tape ___ Series ___.

For any heterogeneous groups (race or sex) seating arrangements will provide the possibility of establishing totals of race of speaker (Tapes E, F, G)

Black over Black	_____
White over White	_____
Black over White	_____
White over Black	_____

CHILDREN (or child)

Children: All references to individuals or groups assumed to be under age 18.

Each and every reference to a child or to children will be coded even if they can also be coded in some other category. For instance, a black child would still be coded as a reference to children even though it can also be coded as a racial reference as well.

Children is to be coded with a "C".

CLOTHING AND NUDITY

Clothing: References to covering for the human body or garments in general.

Nudity: References to the lack of clothing.

Clothing is to be coded with a "CL" and nudity will be coded with an "N".

Sometimes the reference will have to be determined from the context in which it occurs. For instance, "he did not have a hat," would be coded with an "N" because it is a reference to the lack of clothing.

Each and every reference to clothing is to be coded separately. Thus, "shoes and socks" constitute two references to clothing.

FAMILY

Family: All references to a group of persons related by blood, marriage, or adoption.

All family references are to be coded by the letters "Fa". In addition, all family references should also be coded for one of the following: father (f); mother (m); brother (b); sister (s); other (o).

Each and every reference to family is to be coded separately. Thus, father and mother constitute two references to family. They would be coded as follows: Faf, Fam.

The coding as it is presently designed will not distinguish between various kinds of relatives outside of the immediate family nor within the family does it distinguish between, for example, full brothers and half brothers, even though the people making the references may make these distinctions.

SUGGESTIONS:

A suggestion is any proposal to do something with all or part of the money allocated to the group in the instructions. We have decided to code all suggestions by a system which allows us to weight a suggestion according to its level of specificity. Every suggestion by virtue of its being a proposal to do something with the money receives the number one (1). If the suggestion has a named recipient it receives the number two (2) in addition to the number one (1). If the suggestion has a designated location for the recipient, it receives the number (3). If the suggestion names a specified use for the money, it receives the number (4). If a suggestion has an accompanying rationale which justifies, explains, or defends that particular use for the money, it receives an "X". A suggestion can thus receive four numbers (1,2,3,4) in addition to the letter "X". This is the maximum that any suggestion can receive. An example of a suggestion which contains all five items is the following: [Note that only the material in brackets is necessary for coding purposes.]

1

2

[I WOULD GIVE THE FIFTY DOLLARS] [TO THE BOYS CLUB]

3

4

[IN BOSTON] at South Huntington Avenue [TO SEND 10 LITTLE

PEOPLE TO THE RED SOX BASEBALL GAME] on July 4, 1976

"X"

[BECAUSE THEY DON'T GET TO GO VERY OFTEN].

Suggestions, Page 2

Suggestions may appear as simple declarative sentences: I would give it away. In the negative: I would not give it to the Red Cross. As questions: How about giving it to the Jimmy Fund? Or as commands: Give it to me.

Suggestions may also be elliptic: ...the Cancer Society. If the suggestion appears in the form of a question, it should also be coded with a "Q". The coding system does not take notice of the other differences in form.

We have arbitrarily decided that suggestions to keep the money will be scored with the numerals " 1 " and " 2 ".

The named recipient is clearly implied. Thus. "I would keep it." (1,2)

Statements which occur in response to requests to clarify or repeat a previous suggestion: Statements which occur in response to requests to clarify or repeat a previous suggestion are not themselves suggestions. The following exchange contains only one suggestion:

One: I would give it to the Boys Club. (1,2)

Two: Which one?

One: The Boys Club in South Boston.

Suggestions, Page 3

Suggestions which are repeated: If a suggestion has been made before and it is made again, but not in response to a request to clarify or repeat it, then the suggestion is coded as a repeat (R). The speaker who originally made the suggestion is identified in front of the "R". Thus if person number 4 made a suggestion and then later in the discussion brings it up again, the repeated suggestion is coded as 4R. A repeated suggestion may contain more information than when it was originally made. For instance, the following exchange contains three suggestions, one of which is a repeat and has more elements than when it was originally made:

One: I think we should give the money to the needy kids. (1,2).

Two: How about giving it to someone who has been burned out? (Q, 1,2).

Three: I think we should give it to the needy kids who don't have any clothes so that they can get some or they'll be cold during the winter. (1R, 1,2,4,X)

Two or more suggestions at once: Sometimes a speaker will make two or more suggestions in the same sentence. Each suggestion should be scored separately. Each may have a different weight.

One: We should give the money to the Red Cross (1,2) or maybe to the African Relief Fund to help the drought victims who don't have anything to eat. (1,2,4,X).

Suggestions, Page 4

Suggestions which appear as elliptical sentences: Sometimes a suggestion will appear in the form of an elliptical sentence. For instance: The Cancer Society.

It is understood that the missing part of this statement is "We should give it to the Cancer Society" or something similar. This, however, is the ONLY part of a suggestion which can be supplied for purposes of coding. No other element, such as the use to which the money is to be put or the rationale, can be supplied by the coder.

Suggestions where the name of the recipient also gives a location: If the location of a recipient is clearly identified in its name, then the suggestion should be scored as if the person making the suggestion had given the address separately. Thus:

One: I would give it to the Roxbury YMCA. (1,2,3)
or

One: I would give it to the Calendar St. Community Center. (1,2,3)
as opposed to:

One: I would give it to the Boys Club. (,2)

Suggestions which name a member of the person's family as a recipient: We have decided that a suggestion to give the money to a member of their own family should be coded only

for the information present; the coder should not presume that the family member lives at home or that the person making the suggestion lives at home. Thus, no address for the recipient should be coded unless it is stated.

One: I would give it to my sister (1,2)

or

One: I would give it to my sister who lives in England (1,2,3)

If a suggestion is given in the negative, it should also be coded with an "N". For instance: Let's not give it to the Red Cross. (1,2,N)

Finally, when coding a suggestion, a one or two word tag should be used in order to identify the suggestion for later use. An example of a suggestion completely coded:

Three: How about giving it to the B.U. Center for Exceptional Children?

Line 434: Speaker 3, Q, (1,2,3), BU Center.

or, in the case of a suggestion that is being repeated,

Two: How about that Red Cross thing that you mentioned?

Line 335: Speaker 2, 1R, Q, (1,2), Red Cross.

FOOD AND STARVATION REFERENCES:

FOOD REFERENCES: REFERENCES TO A NUTRIMENT IN SOLID OR LIQUID FORM, OTHER THAN ALCOHOL, BUT INCLUDING COFFEE, THAT NOURISHES, DEVELOPS, OR SUSTAINS. REFERENCE TO EATING OR DRINKING OTHER THAN ALCOHOL.

STARVATION REFERENCES: REFERENCES TO THE LACK OF FOOD.

EACH AND EVERY FOOD OR STARVATION REFERENCE IS TO BE COUNTED SEPARATELY.

A REFERENCE TO A FOOD IS INDICATED BY CODING THE LINE IN WHICH IT OCCURS, THE NUMBER OF THE SPEAKER, AND THE LETTER "F".

A REFERENCE TO STARVATION IS INDICATED BY CODING THE LINE IN WHICH IT OCCURS, THE NUMBER OF THE SPEAKER, AND THE LETTER "S".

REFERENCES TO EATING OR DRINKING, EXCEPT ALCOHOL, WILL BE CODED "F".

HERE ARE SOME EXAMPLES:

On line 432, speaker #2 says: My brother is always hungry; boy, he sure can eat.

This is coded:

Line #432, Speaker #2, Reference: S

Line #432, Speaker #2, Reference: F

On line 638, speaker #3 says: I like bread and butter and beer.

This is coded:

Line #638, Speaker #3, Reference: F

Line #638, Speaker #3, Reference: F

RACIAL REFERENCES:

RACIAL REFERENCES: REFERENCES TO ATTITUDES, BELIEFS, OR BEHAVIOR TOWARD OR ABOUT: (1) "BLACK," (2) "WHITE," (3) "BROWN," (4) "RED," (5) "YELLOW" PEOPLES OR PERSONS.

Racial references are coded by use of a number (where appropriate) and a symbol.

The numbers 1 through 5 are used to indicate the race mentioned in the reference, where "black" is 1; "white" is 2; "brown" is 3; "red" is 4; and "yellow" is 5.

African people - code under black.

The following symbols are employed in the coding of racial references:

= male; = female; = gender not specified;
= not a human reference.

Each and every racial reference is to be coded by giving the number of the line in the transcript where the reference occurs, the number of the speaker, and then the reference itself by whatever combination of numbers and symbols is appropriate. Two references which occur on the same line of the transcript are to be coded separately.

Here are a few examples:

On line 281, speaker number 2 says: "... those black girls..."

This would be coded in the following way:

Line #281 Speaker: 2 Reference: 1

Another example:

On line 438, speaker number 3 says: "...sometimes white people..."

This would be coded in the following way:

Line #438 Speaker: 3 Reference: 2

Or another example:

On line 500, speaker number 4 says: "...black people are not prejudiced..."

RACIAL REFERENCES, Page 2

This would be coded in the following way:

Line #500 Speaker: 4 Reference: 1
Line #500 Speaker: 4 Reference:

References joined by the word "and" are to be treated as a single entity.

Thus: black and white men = 1,2
Or: black men and women = 1

Exception: black men and black women, coded as separate references

VIOLENCE:

Violence: References to actual physical abuse or harm to another person or to self.

Violence will be coded with a "V".

DRUGS:

Drugs: References to a substance or substances other than food intended to affect the structure or function of the body of man or other animals.

Drugs is to be coded with a "D".

Each and every reference to a drug is to be coded.

ATHLETICS

Athletics: References to activities done with the intention of exercising the body, or activities which exercise the body other than work or parlor games.

Athletics will be coded with an "At".

Each and every reference to athletics should be coded separately.

DEATH

Death: References to the ending of all vital functions without possibility of recovery.

Death will be coded "Dh".

Each and every reference to death will be coded separately.

Death should be coded whether the reference is figurative or literal.